

ings, and of all its probable and possible issues, it is due to the gravity of the subject, and the solemnity of the occasion, that we should speak to our confederate brethren in the plain language of frankness and truth.—Though we plant ourselves upon the Constitution, and the immutable principles of justice, and intend to operate exclusively through the civil tribunals and civil functionaries of the State, yet, we *will* throw off this oppression, *at every hazard*. We believe our remedy to be essentially peaceful; we believe the Federal Government has no shadow of right or authority, to act against a sovereign State of the Confederacy, in any form, much less to coerce it, by military power. But we are aware of the diversities of human opinion; and have seen too many proofs of the infatuation of human power, not to have looked, with the most anxious concern to the possibility of a resort to military or naval force on the part of the Federal Government—and in order to obviate the possibility of having the history of this contest stained by a single drop of fraternal blood, we have solemnly and irrevocably resolved; that we will regard such a resort as a dissolution of the political ties which connect us with our confederate States; and will, forthwith, provide for the organization of a new and separate Government.

We implore you, and particularly the manufacturing States, not to believe that we have been actuated, in adopting this resolution, by any feeling of resentment, or hostility, towards them; or by a desire to dissolve the political bonds, which have so long united our common destinies. We still cherish that rational devotion to the Union, by which this State has been pre-eminently distinguished, in all times past. But that blind and idolatrous devotion, which would bow down and worship Oppression and Tyranny, veiled under that consecrated title,—if it ever existed among us, has now vanished forever. CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY is the only idol of our political devotion; and, to preserve that, we will not hesitate a single moment, to surrender the Union itself, if the sacrifice be necessary. If it had pleased God to cover our eyes with ignorance—if he had not bestowed upon us the understanding to comprehend the enormity of the oppression under which we labor—we might submit to it, without absolute degradation and infamy. But the gifts of Providence cannot be neglected, or abused, with impunity. A people, who deliberately submit to oppression, with a full knowledge that they are oppressed, are fit only to be slaves, and all history proves, that such a people will soon find a master. It is the pre-existing spirit of slavery, in the people, that has made tyrants in all ages of the world. No tyrant ever made a